

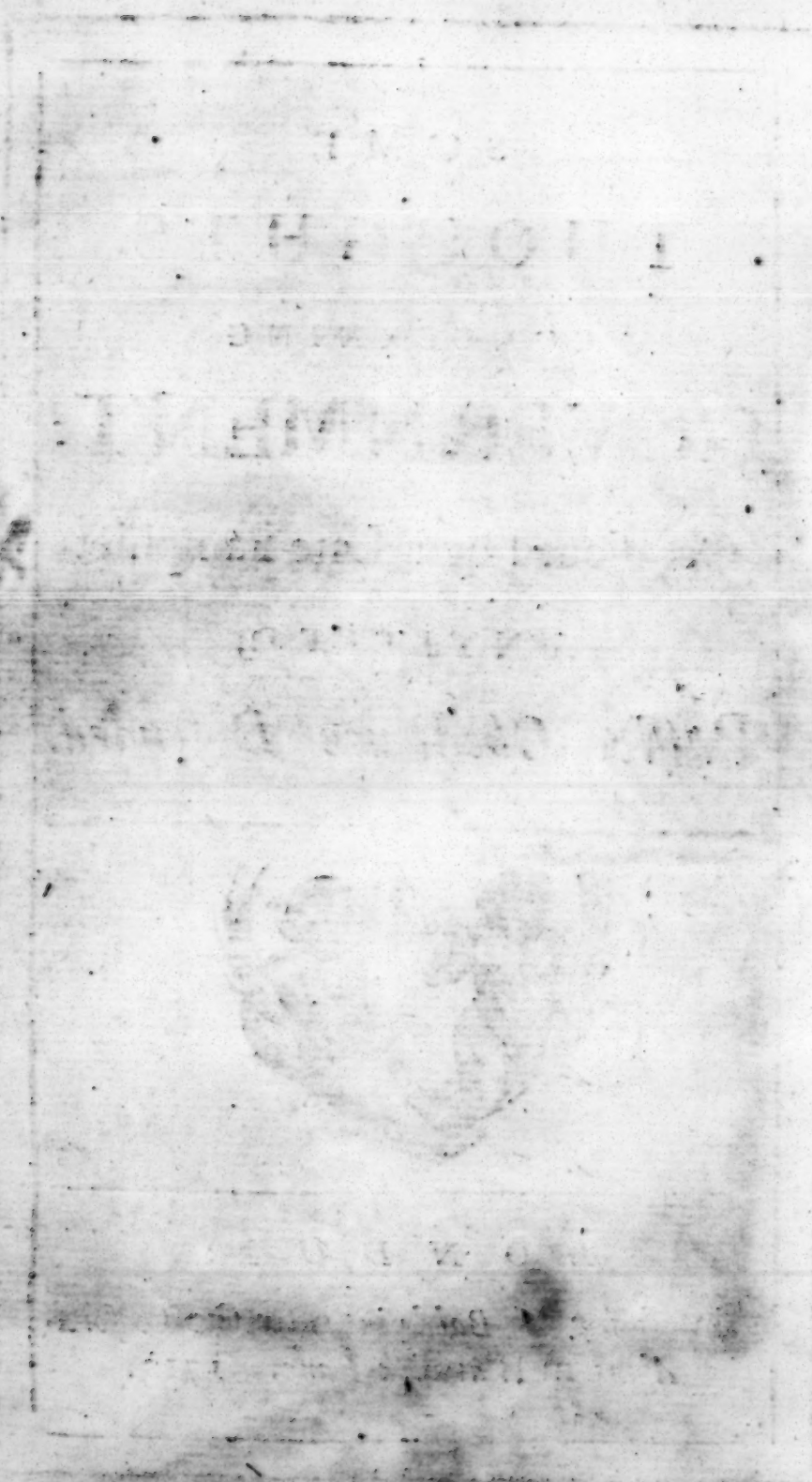
SOME
THOUGHTS
CONCERNING
GOVERNMENT

Occasioned by a Late Pamphlet
ENTITLED,
Passive-Obedience Defended.



L O N D O N :

Printed for M. Baldwin, near the Oxford
Street in Warwick-Lane. 1713.



THE

OF

THE

OF

OF

OF



OF

OF

OF

To the T---s.

GENTLEMEN,

THIS Book being wrote in Defence of Legal Monarchies and Free States, and designed for the Honour of those Governments, which, by the Justice and Equity of their Laws, protect their Subjects in the Possession of that Happiness which Nature directs, and Reason allows them, I could think of no Persons so proper to dedicate it to as You.

Not that I have any Reason to think you Real Enemies to Liberty, even in the largest Sense of the Word, but because some of You Believe, Others Profess, Principles entirely destructive of it.

How it came to pass, that Men should believe contrary to Common Sense, or whether they do really so or not, is a Question too large to be discussed here; but 'tis very evident, that all those Opinions, which are not founded in Reason, took their Rise from Interest and Folly; that they were invented by Crafty Men to serve other Ends than those of Truth, and believed by the Crowd, because taught by Authority.

That the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience had its Origin this way, seems very probable upon these Two Accounts:

First, Because 'tis contrary to Reason; which is not only prov'd in this Book, but allow'd by very Eminent Patrons of the Cause, who have sacrificed Natural Religion to Revealed; built the one upon the Ruins of t'other (tho' thereby they have destroy'd both) and declared their only Proofs to be from the Gospel.

Secondly, Because 'tis a Doctrine which the Professors never think fit to practice, but constantly depart from, when there's the greatest Occasion to stand by it.

He who is used to Self-Reflection, who views the Springs of his own Actions, and observes how steddily he moves by Principles he is thoroughly persuaded of, will be very apt to believe, that those Opinions, which never influence a Man's Actions, have not a rational, well-grounded and firm Assent.

I should very much suspect the Faith of that Christian, Jew, or Mahometan, who lives in constant Violation of those Laws, whose Authority he pretends to be convinced of; nor can I see any Difference between such an Infamous Believer, and a Deist; but that the one dishonours his Religion by seeming to believe that Doctrine, of whose Truth the other is so honest to own he can't be assured.

To bring this home to our Purpose; every body knows how the T——s have behaved
them.

themselves ever since the Reign of King Charles the Second.

Those very Men, who for Twenty Tears together, had threatned Eternal Damnation, and thundered out Anathema's against all who did not believe their Scheme of Politics, came into the Principles and Measures of the Whigs in the Reign of King James. As soon as they perceived the King against them, they very wisely were against him. And when the Circumstances of the Kingdom, and their own dearer Interest required it, they made a Noble Stand, and with true English Bravery, defended the best Constitution in the World. Some of them invited the Prince of Orange over, and gave him all possible Encouragement after he Landed. But as soon as the Crown was set on his Head, and the main Chance secured, they grew wanton; and because they were not favoured according to their sanguine Wishes and Expectations, they distressed this King of their own, all manner of ways. They made his Crown a Crown of Thorns; and during his whole Reign Resisted the Councils and Actions of a Prince who not only saved them from Ruin, but under whose Administrations, the most excellent Laws were made, and the Liberty and Glory of England carried to a greater Height than by any of his Predecessors.

No sooner was this Prince laid in his Grave, but their Hopes began to revive, and they fancy'd his Successor would prove a Monarch after their

their own Hearts. Her Majesty was pleased
 to try them in the most Profitable and Honoura-
 ble Posts, till by the Violence of their Measures,
 they had involved Her in Difficulties at Home,
 and Dangers from Abroad; then She thought
 fit to change Her Councils, and take the Whigs
 into Favour. This exasperated these Passive-
 Men to that degree, that tho' Her Majesty had
 always given them the most distinguishing Marks
 of Her Royal Favour and Bounty; tho' She
 was a Princess of Unexampled Virtue, and
 bore the strongest Affection to the Church, yet
 they vilified and reproached Her, in the most
 insolent Manner; They drew Her as an Idiot,
 and Her Ministers as a Sett of Abandon'd Vil-
 lains, who designed to destroy Monarchy and
 Episcopacy, and overturn the Government in
 Church and State: For this End they set up
 that Ring-leader of their Sect, and Mover of
 Sedition, who Blasphemed Her most Sacred Ma-
 jesty, Railed Her Council, Cursed Her Mini-
 sters, and cry'd aloud, The Church was in
 Danger, tho' under the Protection of Her best
 Friend, and secured by the strongest Laws.
 And while this Incendiary lay under the Con-
 demnation of the Highest Court of Judicature
 in the World, and his Sentence approved by the
 Queen Her Self; these Men, to give the
 strongest Proofs of their Loyalty, had the Inso-
 lence to drink his Health in all Companies, as
 Defender of the State, and Saviour of the
 Church: In short, while they were the Ruin'd
 Party,

Party, they were a restless turbulent Faction, always using their utmost Endeavours to blast the good Designs of Her Majesty and Ministry.

They Rebell'd against the best of Queens, and under the best Administration; and had the unparallel'd Impudence to publish to the World, that Nature would rebel against Principle, and to threaten Her Majesty, that unless she took other Measures, they might be provoked to do, what they had not the Courage to name. This being the Character of the Tories, I leave it to every Man's Judgment, whether they have any Principles or not? It seems to me, they have None; and that they only profess a different Sort of Loyalty from other Men, to carry on their private Designs of Ambition, and to grasp so much Power as may enable them to enslave their Fellow-Subjects.

Having thus drawn the Picture of the Leading Men among the Tories, and prov'd that their only Aim is their own Interest, I shall now address my self to You, who have the Misfortune to be their Followers. All I desire of You, Gentlemen, is to read this Book with Attention, and consider the Arguments used to prove the Unreasonableness of the Doctrine embraced by your Party: And in the next Place, consider that tho' Courtiers and Statesmen may get by this Doctrine, You, the Commons of England, the Body of the People never can. 'Tis a Scheme

devised to make You Slaves, and a Yoke which neither You, nor your Fore-fathers could bear. And, Lastly, I beg of You to consider the Doctrine of the Whigs, which when stript of all its Misrepresentations, is this, That the Office of a King is sacred; That Government is of Divine Institution; And that a Legal Monarchy is the best Sort of it; That Obedience Active and Passive is due to all Magistrates, from the highest to the lowest, in the Execution of their Office, but to None out of it; That he who resists either Supream or Subordinate Magistrate in the Discharge of his Trust is a Rebel, and stands condemned by the Law of Nature and by the Gospel: They also affirm, that all Communities have a Right to defend their Persons and Properties against any Power on Earth. These Things I leave to your Consideration, and am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most Obedient,

And most Humble Servant.

Some THOUGHTS concerning
GOVERNMENT, &c.

SEEING nothing tends so directly and immediately to promote the Happiness of Mankind, as true Notions about *Religion* and *Government*; and that when settled upon their Natural Foundations, they are the most valuable things in the World: Who, that has any Regard for his Fellow-Creatures, any Sense of Honour or Virtue, can be an unconcern'd *Spectator*, while the Christian Religion, and the *British* Government, the one the Wisdom of God, and the other, the utmost Reach of the Wisdom of Men, are traduc'd and expos'd, thro' the Folly and Bigottry of some, and the Craft and Interest of others?

'Tis certainly a brave and generous Action to endeavour to set *These* in such Lights as may be most Honourable to God, and Serviceable to his Creatures; which are undoubtedly the best Marks of the Truth of Religion, and the Excellency of Government.

If Christianity did not contain the wisest Principles and best Rules of Life, who would believe it to come from Heaven, tho' attested by never so many Signs and Wonders ? And if *Absolute* Monarchy has a natural Tendency to deprive Men of that Share of Happiness, which the Author of Nature design'd them, 'tis manifest it can be no other than the Invention of Proud and Ambitious Mortals, whose Vanity and Affectation of Godhead pusht them on to build their own Grandeur upon the Misery of others.

He who considers how fond Men are of Religion and Government, of one kind or other, how weak their Understandings, and how strong their Passions, won't wonder much perhaps at their becoming an easy Prey to Persons, who have nothing in view but their own Advantage.

'Tis not difficult from hence to account for all those Wild Romantic and Visionary Schemes which have troubled the World from Age to Age ; for as soon as ever *Those* who had more Craft than their Neighbours, or had the good Fortune to be esteem'd Superior in Knowledge, perceived how well-disposed the Mass of Mankind were to receive a well-told Tale for sacred Truth, and Tricks for *Miracles* : When they saw what immense Sums of Money, what Honour and Adoration would in all Probability be paid to the Inventors of New Schemes of Religion, and New Forms of Government, they presently set up for *Messengers* from *Heav'n*,
they

they erected Whispering-Offices, and built Pompous Palaces as fit Habitations for Gods, and Places of Communication between t^rother World and this : And persuaded the gaping Multitude, that they were the only Persons who could propitiate Heaven, carry Petitions to the Deity, and bring back Answers.

When the *Pagan* Priests had thus made themselves necessary, their next Business was to make sure Work on't, and get themselves establish'd in their New Posts of Honour and Profit. Then they fell to flattering the Civil Power, and deifying the Magistrate. They taught the People that their Princes were Heroes, begotten by Gods, and descended in a direct Line from a Celestial Stem ; or, in our modern Language, that they had a Divine Right to their Crowns, and were accountable to none but God ; That their Will and Pleasure were the only Law ; and that whoever *Resisted* them should be damn'd. *Thus were Kings made Gods* : And that they might not be wanting to their *Makers*, they generously left the Priests to play their own Pranks ; who, as they grew numerous, and found they must either starve, or invent something new, to make the Ignorant stare, and the Inquisitive seem wise, fell a Coining New Systems of Faith, New Doctrines, Ceremonies and Laws. And as 'twas the Interest of the several Parties to make these Religious and Political Creeds, not only different, but contrary to one another,

ther, as well as to Truth and Reason ; they were put upon the hard Task of finding out crabbed, barbarous Terms without a Meaning, Distinctions without a Difference. They talk'd Learned Nonsense ; and taught, not *the Wisdom of God*, but the Folly and Knavery of Men, *in a Mystery*.

Hinc illæ Lachrymæ ! Hence those Loads of Holy Lumber, and Divine Cant !

Hence those Tyrannic Schemes of Policy, and Artful Systems of Government !

But what Men of Sense invented for Gain, Fools have imitated out of Pride, and from a vain Opinion of being Wiser than their Fellows ; and getting the Reputation of Authors, have made large Collections of stupid heavy Politics, which the first Writers never understood ; and tack'd them together with poor, wretched *English*, and sawcy, scurrilous Reflections.

A Famous Instance of this, is the Author of a late Pamphlet entitled,

Passive-Obedience Defended.

Nothing could have mov'd me to take notice of so mean a Performance, had not our *Gentleman-Author* presum'd to fancy his Book unanswerable ; and that he had confuted all the Objections that ever were made on t'other Side of the Question ; when God, and himself knows, He never dar'd look into a

Whig-

Whig-Author, for fear of seeing himself undone, and all the Arguments of his *Self-satisfying* Book shaken to pieces. A Book, which had the Honour to be subscribed for by above Five Hundred Brethren of divers Ranks and Orders; to be perused in Manuscript by Priests, Physicians, K——ts, Esquires and Gentlemen; who all gravely said, *Imprimatur*, and gave It their Blessing in these, or the like Form of Words, ‘ My
 ‘ Dear Loyalist! Go, and Prosper. Thou
 ‘ hast Strength enough to Convert the World
 ‘ to thy self; and none but Reprobate *Whigs*,
 ‘ who are past the Power of Grace, can
 ‘ withstand the Energy of thy Reason, or re-
 ‘ sist the Force of thy Charms!

Thus honourably was this Book launch’d into the World; for which reason I shall treat it with the utmost Deference; always bearing in mind that I am writing against *Quick and Dead*; that I am Arming against me, not only Ghostly Men, whose Power I know; but Ghosts too, of whose Manner of waging War I am entirely ignorant: And Ignorance, as all the Old Allegorists have declar’d, is the Mother of Fear.

The Manner then in which I intend to handle this Book, shall be thus:

First, I will enquire into the Divinity of Princes; and shew, in what Sense Kings may be said to be Divine and Sacred Persons, and Ordain’d of God.

Secondly,

Secondly, I will enquire what Sort of Government is Best. And,

Thirdly, Make Remarks upon the several Parts of the Book ; and shew it to the World under these Heads ;

False Argument.

Destructive of the Constitution of *Great Britain*.

Nonsense, Folly, and Impudence.

I am, according to the Rules I have set my self, obliged, *First*, To enquire into the Doctrine of the Divinity of Princes ; and to shew, in what Sense Supreme Magistrates may be said to be Instituted by God.

'Tis asserted, that Kings are God's Vicegerents ; that they have their Commission from him ; and have a Divine Right to their Crowns. But the Defenders of this Doctrine have not fix'd the Sense of these Words, nor determin'd how they are to be understood.

'Tis plain there are but Two ways of coming at the Truth of this Proposition ; and these are, *Reason* and *Revelation*. Now, No Man from mere Reasoning can tell, whether God approves of Monarchy better than any other Form of Government, but by its Tendency to promote the Well-being of his Creatures : Nor can we be assur'd by the utmost Reach of Understanding, that he has ordain'd This Family and not another, This Person and not That, to represent him on Earth. For,
by

by what Mediums shall we prove it ? Where are our Marks and Evidences ? This indeed we may be assur'd of, that God, who made and presides over all Things, and being absolutely Perfect, can have nothing in view but the Good of the Whole, is very well pleas'd with the Happiness of his Creatures ; and that all those Persons are dear to him, who employ that Wisdom and Power he has given them, in finding out and Executing such Laws, as are agreeable to, and perfective of those several Natures he has made.

In this Sense, Who will not allow our Most Gracious QUEEN, to be a Divine and Sacred Person ; to be Sent of God, and Ordain'd by him ?

But that God has chosen any Particular Person or Family, (for Instance, the House of *Bourbon* in *France*) exclusive of all others, by any Act of his, or Divine Interposition, any otherwise than as he governs the whole World, no Man can be assur'd ; because he has not thought fit to give any Signs of such a Choice.

And to say that God sets up Princes, in the same Sense as he is said to do every thing else, is too absurd and ridiculous to need a Reply. If there is any such thing as Free Agency in us, and God is not the Author of all our Passions, Affections, Intentions and Actions, then we may suppose that Monarchs and Monarchies had their Rise just after the same manner as

all other Events. But if that Sovereign Being who made the World, is the Author of all Events, of every thing that happens in it; I am content: The Consequences I leave to every Man's own Mind; but am sure they'll suit the *Tory* no better than the *Whig* Scheme. Seeing then we can't discover by *Reason*, who are appointed by God to Govern us, let us consult *Revelation*.

That Sacred Book which contains our most Holy Religion, does indeed say, that *By God Princes reign*; and that *the Powers that be, are Ordained by him*. This Text has been so often interpreted, both in Favour of the *Whig* and *Tory* Scheme, and every body knowing what is said upon it, I think it Loss of Time to say any thing particularly about it; but shall beg Leave to say something concerning the Bible it self, and the Manner of Understanding it.

This Book being wrote by the Direction of God, for the Use of Men, it seems reasonable to believe, that all those Places which thro' Length of Time, and Ignorance of the Idioms of Speech peculiar to the Language in which 'twas wrote, for want of knowing the Customs of those Ancient Countries, or the Occasions of the Discourses, can't be understood, are of no great Use, and to us signify nothing.

But that all those Texts to which an Idea can be fix'd, ought to be so interpreted,
as

as best agrees with those Natural Notions we have of God, and the Design and End of Religion in general, which is certainly to make Men Wise and Good, Virtuous and Happy.

This being granted, it follows unavoidably, that when God is said to be the Author of any Action or Event, it must be so understood as to agree with his Attributes, and our Duty.

Every Man who is acquainted with the Bible, perceives, that almost all things that come to pass are ascrib'd to God; whether they be Good or Evil: He is said to ordain to Eternal Life, and to ordain to Damnation; to harden Hearts, and give Men over to believe Lies, that they may be damned. He is said to move *David* to Number the People; and in another place, the Devil is said to do the same. God is said to give Faith and Repentance; to work in us *both to Will and to Do*; and on t'other side, he is said to *close our Eyes*, and to *stop our Ears*, lest we should see with our Eyes, and hear with our Ears, and be converted. He is represented as an Arbitrary Being, who has *Mercy on whom he will*, and *whom he will he hardens*. So that in short, he is made the Author of all Good, and all Evil, of Sin and Righteousness, of Happiness and Misery.

Now 'tis impossible, if God be Good and Just, that this should be true; That he should

by any Positive Act, which these Texts naturally imply, influence Men to do that for which he'll punish them; nor can he be properly said to reward Men for those Actions of which he is the Cause.

The Question is therefore, How these and the like Places, such as, *The Powers that be, are ordained of God*, are to be interpreted, so as to be consistent with his Perfections and our Freedom? And the Way, to me, seems to be this. When God is said to be the Author of any Good Action, or to ordain Persons for Good Ends and Purposes, the Meaning is, that he is pleas'd with those Actions, and approves them for their own Sakes: But when he is said to be the Author of Evil, it can only be meant, that he suffers it to be done, in order to bring about something which will be advantageous in the End, and beneficial to the Whole. So that it don't follow from hence, that God, by any immediate Agency, or Positive Act, produces any of these Events; but only that he inspects all Things, and will take care that every thing shall be brought about in such a manner as shall answer those Great Designs for which he made the World.

This way of attributing all Things that happen to God, serves to a very good End: For it teaches us Resignation to the Divine Will, and supports us under all those Evils which fall to our Share; as knowing that there is an infinitely Good Being, who rules
in

in the Universe, and who will one time or other make all those things, which now seem disorderly and confused, appear full of Order, Beauty, Harmony, and Proportion.

The Bible was not wrote to gratify Mens Curiosities, nor to teach them any Knowledge but what is absolutely necessary to make them live virtuously here, and be happy hereafter. There are no speculative Points, either in Divinity or Philosophy; no Discourses of the Rights of Princes or People, but Obedience to Governors, press'd, in general Terms, upon the Consciences of the *First* Christians, who had the Misfortune to entertain false Notions of Christianity, and to imagine, because *Jesus* was their *King*, they ow'd Subjection to no body else.

'Tis therefore the vainest Attempt in the World to endeavour to prove the Doctrine of *Whig* or *Tory* from Scripture. No *Whig* that ever I saw or heard of, was ever so Fool-hardy as to aim at proving the Doctrine of *Resistance* from the Bible; tho' our Author says they have, and could find but One Text for't, which He, Poor Man! takes a vast deal of Pains to rescue out of their Hands, by a labour'd Comment of a Page or two, and a learned Criticism on a *Greek* Word.

*For 'tis well known, he can speak Greek
As naturally as Pigs squeak.* Hud.

The *Tories* have indeed laboured hard at this Point, and wrote whole Volumes of Nonsense to prove their Doctrine this way ; but when they consider how many Commands in Scripture are delivered absolutely, which yet must be obeyed with reasonable Restrictions and Limitations, without manifest Absurdity, and destroying the very Design of Christianity, 'tis hop'd they'll be wiser, and not bring this or any other Text in Proof of the Passive Doctrine; unless from the Nature and End of Government they can shew that this Command of not resisting Princes in any Case, ought to be exempted from those Limitations, which the Reason of the Thing requires in other Cases : Which, whether they can or no, shall be tried under what I propose to speak to next, which is, to enquire,

What sort of Government is best. Now if it does appear that Absolute Monarchy, or that to be govern'd by the Will of One Man, is the best Kind of Government, I'll yield them their Argument, and firmly believe Absolute Unlimited Obedience, and Non-Resistance in any Case, to be the Doctrine of the Gospel.

In solving this Question, I shall neither trouble my self, or the Reader, with the Learned Divisions of Government into Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy ; nor determine any thing concerning them ; but shall only consider whether 'tis best for Mankind to be govern'd by, or without Law, not having

having any regard to the Seat of Power, or in whom 'tis lodg'd, whether in *One* or *Many*.

Now in order to understand which of *these* Two is the best Government, we must enquire into the Nature of Man, and what constitutes his Happiness ; and then compare that Account with both those Kinds of Government.

Then shall we see whether Government by *Will*, or *Law*, is most suitable to our Natures ; and which has the greatest Tendency to promote our *Real Good*, and consequently which is *Best*.

'Tis now I suppose agreed on all Hands, that we know nothing of the Essence or Nature of any thing, but by its Properties, Attributes, or Affections ; and it being beside my Purpose to take any other View of human *Nature*, than as it relates to Government, I shall wave all Subtilties, and consider Man only as he is an Intelligent and Social Creature, and stands related to other Beings.

'Tis very plain to every Man who considers, that the Happiness of Men, as well as that of all other Living Creatures, consists in the regular Exercise of all their Natural Passions, Affections, and Desires, upon proper Objects ; but how this can be done without *Liberty* is hard to imagine. That Government therefore which leaves Men at full Liberty to do whatever is really conducive of their highest Happiness, provided it be consistent with the
only

only End of it, which is the Preservation of the Persons and Properties of the whole Community, is certainly the Best.

But, that I may, if possible, meet the most ordinary Capacity, I will be more particular.

I suppose no body will dispute with me, that there are different States and Conditions of Life, nor that there are, in Imagination at least, however things are in Reality, different Kinds and Degrees of Happiness; that there are not only what we call the Necessaries but the Conveniences and Elegancies of Life: Few, I fancy, even in this Age, are arrived to that pitch of *Scepticism*, as to doubt whether the being Master of Money enough to to put one above all servile Flatteries and mean Submissions to the *Wills* of *Great Men*; whether the being Rich enough to laugh at Fortune, and bid Envy do her worst, is not a very eligible State, and worthy the Endeavour of every Rational Creature. Nor perhaps is this State so hard to be obtain'd as some imagine. There are Thousands qualified for it, if they had but the Sense or Courage to think so. How great is the Pleasure of being ones own! Master of ones own Time and Purse! Is it not a Good, a Real Good, to have that Riches scattered thro' the whole Society, and make glad the Hearts of the whole Community, which in most Absolute Governments is apply'd only to gratify the Pride and Ambition, the unreasonable Appetites

tites and Desires of the Twentieth or Hundredth Part of the Subjects ?

This general Diffusion of the good Things of this Life, brings Men nearer to that State of Equality, in which God made them, and puts them upon falling more easily into the Practice of all friendly Offices and social Virtue ; it takes away that vast and unnatural Distance, which is oft seen between Creatures of the same Species ; and makes Men of all Ranks, Orders, and Degrees, converse with Freedom, and upon an equal Foot. To what but the Equity of our Government, and the Riches of the Commons consequent upon it, is owing the Behaviour of our *English* Nobility, and Persons of Quality, who laying aside all Thoughts of Grandeur and Superior State, meet their Inferiors with an Air of Humanity and Goodness ? They tell us, by all Imaginable Signs, that they take it ill, when they have stoop'd so low, that we won't at least fancy our selves upon an Equality with them, and fall into all those Freedoms of Conversation, which no Man who has a true Taste of Pleasure can live without.

But tho' this Liberty of Conversing freely with all Men, and upon all Manner of Subjects too, is a Pleasure not to be despised, and which no Arbitrary Government in the World enjoys, yet there's something still more valuable ; and that is, that in all Free States and Kingdoms govern'd by Law, there is the

greatest Encouragement given to Industry, by a *Legal Security* of what a Man gets, whereby he can use it his way own while living, and when he dies, transmit it safe to those he likes best. They have their Estates secured to them by excellent Laws, which *no Power on Earth* can break through, without incurring the Displeasure, and pulling down the Wrath of the whole Community upon their Heads.

There are yet still greater Advantages than what are merely secular, and terminate with this short and uncertain Life; there are others of a vastly greater Concern which flow from Liberty. And these are the *Means* of discovering *Truth*, which is certainly a valuable thing, because there is a very close Connexion between that and Virtue; for he who thinks justly concerning God and Religion, bids fair to be an excellent Moralist, and must with the greatest Difficulty be unhappy. Now how shall Men come at right Notions of Religion, unless they have Liberty to *think*, *speak*, and *write*, as freely upon that, as upon any other Subject in the World.

He who knows any thing of the History of the Church, can't be ignorant of the dire Effects of reducing Men's Thoughts in Religion and Philosophy to the Standard of their Governors, and of making them think right by Dint of Fire and Faggot. Did not the Church of *Rome*, by these Arbitrary Methods,
cover

cover all *Europe* with the grossest Ignorance and vilest Superstition, and that for several Hundred Years together? Was not Religion made not-only the most antic and ridiculous, but the most horrid, monstrous, and ill-natur'd Thing in the World? Was it not made destructive both of good Sense and of good Manners too? And that which was designed by the Divine Author of it to lead Men to Virtue, carried with it the strongest Motives to continue them in the Practice of Vice.

What was Philosophy, but meer Cant and Jargon, senseless Distinctions and empty Sounds, Words without Meaning, which the Learned devised, and their Followers, lest they should seem to be ignorant, did seem to understand?

This was the melancholy and gloomy State of *Europe*, till *Liberty* visited this Part of the World, and pour'd upon us those Blessings, which none but those who enjoy can express, and which none but Fools would part with and live.

I am of Opinion that I have now shewn the Advantages of a *Free Government*, and how much it excels that of *Absolute Monarchy*: But that I may make my Countrymen sensible of their Happiness, let me beg of them to take a View of *France*, which is perhaps the best managed Absolute Government under Heaven, and yet almost all the Lands and Riches of the Kingdom are in the Hands of

the King, Church, and Nobility. Our Commons possess the far greatest Part of the Riches of the Kingdom ; they eat, drink, sleep, dress, look, think, and talk like Gentlemen ; while the Commons of *France* work and starve ; and in many of their large Cities there is not one in Twenty of them to be seen with a Cloth or Drugget Coat on ; your Eyes meet nothing but Canvass Frocks, and Wooden Shoes ; vast Numbers lye on Beds of Straw, and hardly eat a Pound of Flesh in a Quarter of a Year.

But if we look into the *North*, to *Sweden* and *Muscovy*, or take a View of any of the Eastern Monarchies, Who would think the Subjects to be of the same Species with our selves ? The highest Pleasure they have, is what is common to them and Brutes : They satisfy their Hunger, quench their Thirst, and propagate their Kind. All those Noble Faculties which should distinguish them as Men, lye dead and useless. They are Beasts in Human Shape, and neither fit for that Pleasure Nature design'd them here, nor, unless they are new made, are they fit for any hereafter ; and thus they are like to continue as long as 'tis the Interest of their Terrestrial Gods to keep them poor and ignorant.

Having thus enquired into the Divinity of Princes, and shewn the Reasonableness of Limited Monarchies : I shall now,

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Consider the several Parts of this Book, entitled, *Passive-Obedience Defended*.

But before I begin, I shall beg leave to premise (as the Learned say) one Thing ; and that is, that this Author did not understand the true State of the Question between *Whig* and *Tory* ; nor did he write against any Man, but what has been dead these 40 Years. 'Tis the constant Language of all the *Whigs* I know, That the Supreme Legislative Power is in Queen, Lords and Commons ; and the Supreme Executive Power in the Queen alone. But none of them say, that the Supreme Power is in the People ; which is the Proposition he thinks he has confuted, by leading his Reader thro' 94 Pages of thick Darkness, even Darkness that may be felt. The Old Books that he copied his musty Scraps from, seem wrote against the *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other Enthusiasts, either Religiously or Politically mad in Q. *Elizabeth's* and K. *James I.'s* Time, or against the Tyranny of *Cromwel*.

This being premised ; that this Gentleman, after a Year or Two's indefatigable Pains to make some New Discovery, (what we Authors are very fond of) has had the Misfortune to do nothing but beat the Air, and fight his own Shadow : I shall now prove what I say and shew, *First*, That his Arguments are
false

false ; that they don't conclude, nor prove what they are brought for.

These Arguments he pretends to draw from Scripture, Reason, and Law.

How he came to mention the first, I can't conceive ; for he has not brought one Text in Defence of his Notions. He has indeed mention'd one ; which, after 2 or 3 Pages of Learned Criticism, he says, proves that Magistrates ought to be obey'd. I am very much of his mind ; and so shall proceed to those Arguments supposed to be founded in Reason.

The Chiefest, and upon which his whole Superstructure is built (as well as can be collected from his confused Discourse ; for he is not Master enough of the Method of Reasoning, to name his Propositions to be defended) is this : ' That the Supreme Magistrate can't
' originally derive his Power from the People ;
' because no Man can give that to another,
' which he has not himself : And Man having
' no Power over his own Life, cannot give
' such a Power to the Prince. Yet 'tis plain
' the Prince has such a Power ; therefore it
' could not be derived from the People.

In Defence of this Proposition, he spends several Pages ; which may be answer'd almost in as few Lines, tho' he has taken to his Assistance Bishop *Blackall*.

For let it be granted him, that no Man has a Power (meaning a Right) to take away his own Life ; yet does it from thence follow,
that

that he must not defend it ? Is not the contrary allow'd by all Mankind ; even to the taking away another's, if he attempts mine ? If so, can we not easily conceive, that upon giving up this Right I have by Nature over the Life of every other Person in Defence of my own, to One chosen to be a Governor ; and every one else investing him with his Natural Rights ; that the Person elected will have the Power of Life over every Man, who shall become a Malefactor in that Society ?

To illustrate this by a very reasonable *Hypothesis* : Let us suppose a Hundred Men, with Wives, Sons and Daughters, cast ashore upon a Desert Island, without any Rights but what are Natural ; and that for some time they live in a State of Independency ; each Person securely providing all Necessaries for himself, till perhaps some lazy idle Fellow, unwilling to get his Living by Labour, seizes on an honest industrious Man, carrying home Provisions for himself and Family : He makes what Defence he can ; but being almost conquer'd, another of the Company coming that way, and asking the Cause of their Difference, is inform'd by the weaker, of the Injury design'd him : He, after telling the Aggressor the Unreasonableness of his Attempt, and finding him bent upon his Prey, joins the Honest Fellow ; and both together kill this Rascal. No sooner is his Death known, but several of the New Inhabitants meet together, examine into the
Fact,

Fact, and approve what the Two Men had done, by taking away the Life of one who might have been a Common Enemy, by relying upon his superior Strength: But at the same time consider, that every Man is so strongly prejudic'd in Favour of himself, that 'tis not reasonable he should in all Cases give Judgment, where his own Interest is so nearly concerned. Upon this Consideration, one of the Company addresses himself to the whole Assembly, setting forth the Difficulty of Observing the Laws of Nature, tho' founded in the strongest Reason; and shewing, that the only way to procure those Blessings which the Bountiful Author of Nature seem'd to design us, was, To enter into Society, make Laws, and set up some Common Power: Then the weakest need not fear the Power of the strongest; because he'll have the Force of the whole Community to protect him. Therefore 'twas his Opinion, that they should chuse some Person of good Sense and Honesty to be their Governor; investing him with all their Natural Rights; that is, giving him a Power to Nominate Persons to Execute the Laws agreed upon by themselves for their future Conduct.

Now supposing this Advice is approv'd by the Company, and they chuse a Governor; this Sovereign is as truly possessed of the Power of Life and Death over Malefactors, as tho' an express Messenger had been sent from
from

from Heaven, to invest him with such a Power.

What is become then of our Author's tedious Discourse, to prove the Impossibility of Princes deriving the Power of Life and Death from the People?

But why should I labour to prove that, which the Reason and Practice of all Mankind puts beyond Dispute? For this Power is so reasonable, that 'tis left us in many Cases after we are entred into Society, and oblig'd to submit all our Natural Rights to the Laws of it. For instance; In all those Cases where any Person makes Attempts upon my Life or Property, at such a Time, or in such a Place, when I can't appeal to the Law for Redress, I am then by the Law left at Liberty to put this Natural Right in Execution, by taking away the Life of such an Offender.

But to set this Argument in the clearest Light possible, I shall offer something further in its Behalf.

If the Prince have this Power of Life from God only, I suppose it will be granted that he has it only over his own Subjects, that his Laws may be the better preserved, and the Innocent protected: But this will not give him a Right to take away the Lives of the Subjects of other Princes; which yet is constantly done in Time of War. This Practice therefore, proves this Natural Right of taking away the Lives of others in Defence of our

own. For all Sovereign Princes being, in Regard to each other, in a State of Nature, and having no Laws to appeal to, to decide their Differences, must have recourse to that Law of Nature allow'd every Man for Self-Preservation.

I don't much wonder that our Author should have Stupidity enough not to be able to distinguish between a Power of taking away my own Life, and a Power of preserving it : But that Ecclesiasticks, Men fam'd for Learning and Honourable Offices in the Church, should so far forget themselves and good Sense, as not to put a Difference between Preservation and Destruction, may seem very admirable to Men not acquainted with some Characters of that Sacred Order. For after all this mighty Noise about the Power of Life, and how it came into the Prince's Hands, it amounts to no more than this ; That, as every Man in a State of Nature, or where there are no Laws, has a Right to take away my Life, when my Actions are inconsistent with the Well-being of the Whole ; so in all Communities, or Bodies Politick, this Right, which was before in every Man, is now lodged in the Supreme Executive Power.

Having thus, as I imagine, shewn how a King may come by his Power of Life, without deriving it immediately from God ; I shall, in the next place, consider what our Author advances to overthrow the Original Contract between

between the King and his People. And that is,
 ‘ That tho’ a Contract is binding between Sub-
 ‘ ject and Subject, yet ’tis not so between
 ‘ Prince and People. Wonderful ! If our Au-
 thor had but Wit enough, he would make an
 Excellent Jesuit, for they have distinguish’d
 all Morality out of the World ; and to prove
 themselves *true Sons of the Church*, have
 made very free with the Laws of Heaven, and
 the Rights of Mankind. But this must be said
 in Honour of them, that they have talk’d hand-
 somly, and offer’d something like Reason for
 what they have said : In Comparison of
 whom, our Novice Author is a mere Scold
 and Bungler.

Hear what he says in Defence of his Licen-
 tious Doctrine.

“ First, he says, there’s a Difference in the
 “ Nature of the Paction : Because Subjects
 “ Bargains are express’d under Hand and Seal
 “ before Witnesses ; and then they have a Per-
 “ son, and Way of Decision, ready to recon-
 “ cile their Differences.

Again : “ The Prince having only God a-
 “ bove him, (which, by the way, is beg-
 “ ging the Question, and contrary to one of
 “ his own Quotations from the Law) the Sub-
 “ jects have no Appeal but thither : (By *thi-*
 “ *ther*, I suppose he means God ;) For how
 “ should the Subjects judge ? They are
 “ Parties.

Now let any Man of common Sense judge, whether these Arguments prove, that a Contract between Prince and People is not reciprocally binding. All that they can prove, (if they prove any thing) is, That if the Prince break his Contract, Subjects could only appeal to God. This last Part will be granted: For he who appeals to Reason, appeals to God.

The next Thing this New Disputant sets about, is, the Proving the Impossibility of making such a Pacton. I'll give you his Arguments in his own Words; and do assure you that they are a Specifick Remedy against the Spleen; or, if you don't like that Title, we will call them

Pills to Purge Melancholy.

Here they are then. " The first great Difficulty will be, says he, how to bring the
 " People into a Capacity of Appearance, for
 " making this Stipulation: For if by their
 " mutual and reciprocal Pactons amongst one
 " another, they have but (as is usually supposed to make them one Body) transferr'd
 " each other's Power, they are as far from
 " being one Body as before: Because, as they
 " were before separate, in having their own
 " distinct Personal Powers, so are still as
 " distinct in Possession of the Powers of each
 " other. For if *John* (pray mind, Gentlemen) have given his Power to *Thomas*, it
 " must

“ must be, I suppose, that *Thomas* shall give
 “ his Power to *William*; and then, as *William*
 “ may be supposed to have a Treble Power,
 “ (that is, his own and the Two resign’d) so
 “ at last, by transferring these resign’d Pow-
 “ ers onward, they will come into one Hand.
 “ But this will be a long Work, and much
 “ Trouble their will be with whom to begin,
 “ and in what order to follow therein; and
 “ who shall be the Supreme Obliging Party,
 “ to see Performance of these many *Pactions*.

Rudis indigestaque moles! That Man has no
 Taste for Folly, who can read with a serious
 Countenance, all that grave Nonsense and so-
 lemn Foppery, which is contained in this and
 the preceeding Paragraph; tho’ I confess even
 this is out-done in the three or four following
 Pages, where our Author, out of Reverence
 to himself, and in Imitation of the Gods of
 old, has wrapt himself in Clouds, and walks
 in Darknes. He fancy’d no doubt that

He trod on Stars, and talk’d with Gods.

Methinks I see him fold his Arms, traverse the
 Ground, and bid Defiance to all Mankind,
 and that too, in a Case as plain, as that 2 and
 3 make 5. And in order to prove that a
 Contract may be very easily made between
 King and People, I shall have recourse to that
 Little Monarchy, which I just now erected in
 the Isle of *Pines*, and beg this Gentleman only
 to

to reflect how that Monarchy was raised, which in all Probability was after this Manner : Assoon as the Speaker had finished his Oration in Praise of *Government* in general, and *Monarchy* in particular, they proceeded to the Election of a King, which might be done after the same manner as a *Mayor*, or a Knight of the Shire, is chosen by the Majority of Votes. When thus elected, there is certainly a much easier way of Contracting than that ridiculous One mentioned by our Author, of transferring Rights from *John* to *Tom*, and from *Tom* to *Will*, &c. I can't see that they have any thing more to do, than to agree among themselves, what shall be the Articles of the Original Contract, and each swear to the Performance of it. Hold, not so fast, says our Author : Suppose there be any in this Assembly, who will not agree to the Articles approv'd by the Majority, shall they be oblig'd by the Laws of that Society? No, unless they will take the Benefit of those Laws for their Protection; they are at full Liberty to return to their State of Nature, if they think fit; or they may depart in Peace, and erect another Government of their own liking. And as to all those Places, where Governments are already established, 'tis very plain, that those who receive Protection from them, are, for that very Reason, obliged to obey the Laws of them, whether they have sworn to do so or not; and ought, upon the
Breach

Breach of any of them, to receive the Punishment the Legislature has appointed. Tho' I can't but suppose it very reasonable, when a Government thinks fit, to try the Inclinations of the Subjects, by an Oath of Allegiance, that all those Persons who won't take it, let them be as Religious and Conscientious as possible, ought not to receive Protection from that Government, because Self-Preservation is a fundamental Law of Nature; and no Government can be safe which harbours its Enemies within its own Breast, which suffers those Men to live in it, who think in Conscience that 'tis an unlawful one, and must consequently think themselves obliged, by the strongest Tye in the World, that is, Religion, to undermine and destroy it. That this has been the Practice of *Jacobites* and *Nonjurors* ever since the Revolution, is too evident to need Proof. But I shall say no more on this Head, because it looks at first Sight, and to Persons who don't think, something like Persecution for Conscience sake; than which nothing is more unreasonable, and from which nothing differs more widely than this; for by Persecution for Conscience sake, I always mean for Opinions meerly Religious; Opinions, which no way relate to Civil Government, or have no manifest Tendency to destroy the Constitution.

I have now, in as plain a Method as possible, shewn the Weakness of this Author's Arguments

guments from *Scripture* and *Reason* ; tho' he swaggers and concludes this from Reason with Fire-works ; by turning the Original Contract into a Squib ; which Piece of Wit, I suppose had its Rise from the Children's late rejoicing for the *Peace*. And to shew the Brightness of his Fancy , I will do him the Justice to publish it in his own Words.

And so this suppos'd Pact or Contract which maketh such a Noise in the World, proveth to be but a Squib , Powder without Shot , that gives a Crack, but vanisheth into Air , and doth no Execution.

After he has done with *Scripture* and *Reason*, tho' indeed he never made any use of either of them, he takes up with what every Man will allow him to understand, and makes 25 Quotations from Statutes , and the Laws of the Land ; None of which are to the purpose, as to the Matter in Dispute ; for not one of them allows of a King of *England's* dispensing with all the Laws whenever he thinks fit , which is the only Case for which *Resistance* is pleaded ; nor indeed can any thing be more absurd, than to bring Authority from Law to destroy all Law , and the very End and Design of it ; which is what this Gentleman contends for, if he knows what he would have. All that his Quotations do, are only to set forth the Power and Authority of a King of *England*, as long as the Constitution is preserved ; which is all I have to say to his
Argu-

Arguments from Scripture, Reason, and Law.

I shall now, according to the Method I at first proposed, collect some of those Passages in this Book, which are destructive of the Constitution of *Great-Britain*.

Pag. 6. He says, ' That Peace and Agreement cannot be so well attained, but by Submission and Implicite Obedience to the definitive Sentence of *One*.

Pag. 7. He says, ' He was a long time pleased with the seeming Reasonableness of this Maxim; How unfit it was that all should be subject to the Arbitrary Government of *One* ' ; but at last his Eyes were opened, and without doubt by the Doctor's Eye-Salve, ' and he saw that all Governments, as Governments, must be Arbitrary.

Pag. 44. ' The King is not a Person trusted with a Power. The King hath the Power of *making and interpreting* Laws.

Pag. 58. He says, ' The Kings of *England* are *Absolute Monarchs*.

Again, ' The Kings of *England* are more (more wonderful still !) *Absolute Monarchs* than either of their Neighbours of *France* or *Spain*.

Pag. 60. ' The Three Estates have little more Authority than to advise the King.

Pag. 61. ' No Part of Sovereignty is invested legally in the *English* Parliament.

Pag. 62. 'The *Legislative Power*, as well
 'as the *Sovereignty*, is properly and legally
 'in the *King* alone, and not in the *King* and
 'Two Houses.

Pag. 82. 'The King hath the inseparable
 'Legislative Power *solely* in him.' Indeed
 he does correct himself, and says, that after
solely in him, we must add, 'But bound in the
 'Exercise thereof to the Concurrence of the
 'Lords and Commons.' But this Addition
 shews only our Author's Folly and Cowardice;
 for if the *Legislative Power* is *solely* in the
 King, then it follows necessarily, that he can-
 not be bound in the *Exercise* of it by any o-
 ther Power, at least not rightfully; this bind-
 ing must be an Usurpation, and Trespass upon
 the *Right* of the King.

Our Author, who loves Darkness as he
 loves his Life, seems very fond of this Di-
 stinction, *Power*, and the *Exercise* of that
Power: But can any Man conceive a Power,
 without a Power to make use of it? that is,
 conceiving a Power without a Power. 'Tis
 something strange that God, who does nothing
 in vain, should give the King a *Power* to
 make Laws, and Yet when he has it, he can't
 make One Law: So that God has given the
 King a Power to make Laws, upon Condi-
 tion such and such Gentlemen agree to it: This
 is a Power upon Condition; consequently 'tis
 not an Absolute Power, nor can be *solely* in
 him.

him. This Power is a *Nescio quid*, a *Non-Ens*, an Occult Quality, an *Ignis-fatuus*, a meet Chimera, a Being which has no Existence but in our Author's Brain, to whose Paternal Care I leave it.

The Enacting Clause in every Act of Parliament runs thus : *Be it Enacted by the King or Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same.*

'Tis very plain from hence, that the Legislative Power is in *Queen, Lords, and Commons* ; and that the Two Houses are not only Advisers, but have an *Authority*, without which *No* Laws can be made : For, if they were only Councillors, the Queen, if she pleases, may not only refuse their Advice, but act contrary to it, and make Laws without them : Which is a Consequence this Gentleman approves, by saying, that the *Legislative* as well as *Sovereign Power* is properly and legally in the *King* alone.

If this be true, our Government is the very same with the most Arbitrary Government in the World : Nor is there the least Difference between an *Absolute* and a *Limited Monarchy*. The Excellency of our Constitution, and the *Liberty of Englishmen* amounts to just nothing. Our Happiness or Misery depends entirely upon the Will and Pleasure of the

Reigning Prince. This is an Assertion so daring, that if our Author, or his Works, were worth minding, *those Noble Assemblies*, whom he has reduced to the inglorious State of a *Paris-Parliament*, would soon make him sensible they did not want Power to correct his Insolence.

Having thus considered his Arguments, and shewn that they don't prove what he intended; and having also shewn how destructive his Doctrine is of the best Constitution under Heaven: I shall now for the Readers Diversion, take notice of the *Nonsense* and *Folly* contained in this celebrated Piece.

In his Preface he tells us, that tho' he has said, Kings have their Power from God alone, and therefore are not any ways accountable to the People; yet he hopes you'll meet with nothing that seems to justify Princes in Tyrannical Government, because he has told us also, that all Tyrants shall be damned. This Consideration alone, he thinks, should be sufficient to remind Princes of their Duty, without the Resistance of their Subjects.

And I say, this Consideration alone, that all Men shall be damned who live in Disobedience to the Laws of Heaven, is sufficient to remind all Christians of their Duty; and therefore there's no need of Laws, or Governors. Our Author, should all Men do as they ought, would become altogether useless: We should then want no Leases or Conveyances,

no

no Bonds, Mortgages, or any other Securities. Every Man, one would think, would practise whatever is required of him; because he shall be damned if he don't.

Had this Man, who seems never to have thought of God or Religion, but as they were deliver'd to him by some *Great Name*, consider'd the Practice of Mankind, he would not have said any thing so unguarded as this. Does not the Practice of Men, in all Ages and Countries, show how little Regard they have to Divine Laws? So little, in our own Country, that the very same Persons who avoid Robbing on the Highway, or Cutting a Man's Throat, because 'tis Ignominious, attended with Capital Punishment, or, perhaps because they have Money enough already, commit other Actions equally forbid by the Christian Law, and to which the same Eternal Punishments are threatned, with the greatest Gust and Pleasure imaginable. Who knows not, that all Intemperance and Excess, that all Defamation, Scandal, Drunkenness, and the promiscuous Use of Women, stand condemn'd by the same Authority that condemns Theft and Murder? And yet because some of these have the Misfortune not to be counted disreputable, but Marks of Gallantry, and Characteristicks of a Well-bred Man; they are committed not only without Shame or Remorse, but are glory'd in; and that Man who dares declare his Innocence,

cence, or speak in Defence of unfashionable Virtue, shall become the Jest and Derision of the Company. If this be true, where is there that Regard to Christianity? what Fine Gentleman fears Hell? Who among these Polite Sinners, don't laugh at unseen Fire and Brimstone, as the Invention of Priests, to keep the People in Dependence on them? And if it be so with Subjects, what shall we think of Princes? Kings are but Mortal Men, as well as we; they carry about them the same Passions, are liable to the same Prejudices: Their Lives are generally spent in Pursuits of Glory and Ambition, or else they dissolve in Ease and Pleasure. They seldom hear so uncourtly and ungrateful a Sound as Damnation, and may very reasonably be supposed to be as incredulous as their Subjects. If so, the telling them they are in no Danger till they come into the next World, tho' it don't justify them in their Tyranny, it gives the greatest and strongest Encouragements to it, and is no more sufficient to bind Princes, than Peasants to their Duty.

In *Page 5th* of his *Preface*, he falls into the Praise of Monarchy; and, among other Arguments for its Excellency, uses this; 'That in Monarchy, there is a Personal, Natural, and Necessary Union: And, that the Monarch having an Unity in himself, must constantly remain so; and therefore 'tis better
' than

‘ than *Polarchies*, in which there is a Division
‘ of Persons and Interests.

Who but *Aquinas*, or *Scotus*, could invent
any thing so learned, and yet so ignorant ?
I have heard indeed of One Nature and Three
Persons, and Two Natures and One Person ;
and believe them too ; but never did I hear
before of One Nature, and One Person, and
Tet a Union of Natures ! and *A Union of*
Persons ! A Monarch, I humbly suppose, is
but *One* ; and how there can be a *Personal*
Union, without an Union of Persons ; and how
there can be an Union of Persons, when there
is but *One Person* ; is as hard for me to con-
ceive, as that our Author conceived any thing
when he transcrib’d this.

As for his contingent Union in *Polarchies*,
and their being strengthen’d by *Antiperistasy* ;
As to his *Monarch’s* having *An Unity* in him-
self, and constantly remaining so, that is, *An*
Unity ; I leave these dark Sayings, to be ex-
plain’d by the next General Council.

Towards the Conclusion of the *Preface*, he
says, ‘ There are some *Necessary* Things insert-
‘ ed, which were never publish’d before ; and
‘ that he has answer’d every Material Ob-
‘ jection.

That there are some Things that were ne-
ver publish’d before ; and that no Man ever
spoke like him, I grant : But that these things
were necessary, in any other Sense, than to
expose

expose his Party, and make himself ridiculous, I won't grant. Neither will I allow, that he has answer'd every *Material* Objection ; because a Famous *Tory* Author has lately wrote a Book, to prove there's no such thing as Matter.

But leaving the *Preface*, I will pursue him thro' some of the most Elegant Follies of his Book.

He begins it in a most dreadful Manner. ' In such a black and dismal Year as 48, when ' *That* Illustrious King, &c. Now every body knows, the Word *That* must refer to something foregoing : From whence I infer, That our *Author*, with very great Stupidity, began to *Transcribe* in the Middle of a Sentence.

P. 7. He says, ' When he consider'd, that ' all Governments, as Governments, must be ' Arbitrary ; he turn'd *Tory*. I wish, when he considers next, he would tell us, What Governments those must be, which are consider'd *not* as Governments ; seeing all Governments, as Governments, must be Arbitrary. And when he has told us this, and shewn that there is no Difference between a Government according to Reason, Law and Equity, and a Government according to Will, Inclination, Humour, Prejudice or Fancy ; I'll turn *Tory* too.

But

But there's no End of his Follies ; I'll therefore name a few more, and have done.

Among his Objections, he has this ; ' That *Bracton* says, God, the Law, and the King's Court, (*viz.* his Earls and Barons in Parliament) are above the King.

Now follows his Ingenious Solution.

Sol. ' Indeed, take God, the Law, and Earls and Barons together ; it is true.

One would think it impossible, that any Man, having Vanity enough to be an Author, on a Subject exhausted by the most Celebrated Pens, should have so little Sense as to imagine, that *Bracton* did not suppose God alone to be above the King, unless joined with the Law, and Law-Makers : And yet 'tis evident, he is so very weak, as to fix this Sense upon *Bracton's* Words ; whereas 'tis plain, that *Bracton* was only setting forth what Powers, in his Opinion, the King of *England* was inferior to, *God*, the *Law*, and the *Earls* and *Barons*.

Another Objection is this. ' The King can't Alter the Bills presented to him by Both Houses.

Solution. ' True : But the King may refuse them.

By this Answer he has overthrown his whole Book, if Inconsistencies will do it : For here he grants, the King has not Absolute Power ; and all the rest of his Book pleads for it.

He begins, *Pag. 67.* to set his Readers right in their Allegiance ; and to prove to them, ' That 'tis not due to an Usurper, tho' ' possess'd of the Supreme Power. What Advantage he proposes by it to his Argument, is hard to conceive, seeing it can only serve to weaken that Implicit Obedience he is contending for in the other Parts of his Book. For what signifies it to the Subjects, if the Constitution is preserved, and all the Ends of Government answer'd, Who sits at Helm, whether a King *de Facto*, or *de Jure* ? And therefore I look upon it as a more dangerous Opinion in Relation to Kings, to assert, as this Gentleman does, That our Allegiance is only due to a King *de Jure* ; which must be resolv'd into every Subject's private Opinion ; than to assert, That when a King attempts entirely to overturn the Constitution, that he may be Resisted : Which is the only Position he ought to have bent his whole Force against, if he design'd his Book for any other Purpose, than getting the Subscription-Shillings. Whereas, on the contrary, setting aside those few Arguments already taken notice of, there is nothing in the Book, but, in different ways, to assert and prove, That, according to our Constitution, the People are not the Supreme Legislative, or Executive Power ; which is only taking a
great

great deal of Pains, to prove the Sun shines.

Pag. 92. He allows us, 'in Case our Constitution is overturn'd, and our Laws broke thro' at Pleasure, to appeal to God: And then asks, 'What, shall we call this no Remedy? Or shall we say, There is no Remedy for Subjects, but when, and where themselves shall be Accusers, Judges and Executioners too? Or cannot God, by Millions of ways, take away the *Airy Beings* of Kings, without an Unnatural Parricide, or the Rising of the People, if he thinks fit to ease them of a Tyrant? &c.

Our Author seems as wretched a Divine, as he is a Politician. He never mentions God or Religion, but he talks Nonsense: And he is so ignorant as to imagine, whatever he finds in Print by some Dignified or Distinguish'd Author, is true. Just now he talk'd of *Permissive*, and *Positive Will* in God; by the Help of which he prov'd, That Allegiance was not due to *Usurpers*.

'Tis plain this Man never thinks: For tho' Ten Thousand Divines have talk'd of *Permissive Will*, and *Positive Will*, of *Reveal'd* and *Secret Will*, in God there can be no such Thing. God is but *One*, and can have but *One Will*; which is the Good or Happiness of all the Beings he has made; which he

brings about in such a manner, as is suitable to their several Natures.

Now he calls a Liberty of Appealing, or Praying to God, in case the Community is ruin'd by a Tyrannical Prince, a Remedy : But I say this is no Remedy ; and will prove it too.

Neither Reason nor Revelation assure us, that God will help those, who by making a right Use of those Natural Powers he has given them, can help themselves.

'Tis not reasonable to expect that God, who has naturally capacitated Men for their own Defence, should supernaturally defend them.

And as this Expectation is contrary to Reason, so is it to Scripture ; which every where exhorts Men to take the same Care, to provide all Things necessary for their Well-being, as tho' *Providence* took no Notice of them. At the same time we are commanded to Pray, we are commanded also to make use of all those Means, which have a Natural Tendency to produce the End. Let our Author Pray for his Daily Bread, without Working for it ; or, if a Highway-Man attempts his Life or Purse, Pray to Heaven for Relief, and see who will hear him.

If this Gentleman, among all his Advisers to Print this Book, had a Physician, I can't imagine how this Answer came in, of *appealing to Heaven*; for if Prayers are the only Remedy under Misfortunes, the *Parson* of the Parish shall be my Physician. If this Praying Doctrine prevails, farewell Lawyers and Physicians; but hail Sacred Priests! If I'm sick, or if any Man injures me, I'll consult neither Law nor Physic, but devoutly repair to the Temple, and by means of a Priest, most humbly supplicate Heaven. This, I say, not that I think Prayer useless, which is the greatest Duty, and highest Privilege of a *Creature*; but to shew that Prayer alone, when we can administer to our own Relief, signifies nothing.

There are a Thousand foolish Things more which I have not Time nor Patience to remark upon, but the *King* and the *Duck* I shall never forget. I who am a Loyalist, and concern'd for the Honour of Princes, can't bear to hear a Legal King compared to a Duck picking up Snails and Worms in a Garden. For he says, *Pag. 78.* 'That a King who has a Power to do good, but none to do hurt, looks like a Duck in a Garden picking up Snails, and then tied by the Leg, for fear of trampling the Flowers, or *Menting* in the Walks.' And he seems very much concerned, and lays it deeply

deeply to Heart, that neither King nor Duck should have a Power to do Mischief. Alas, poor Gentleman, I pity you ! and so bid you good Night.

I should now, according to Promise, shew you the Impudence of the Author, manifested in this Book. He seems naturally a very modest Man ; but what will not wrong Principles do ! it will turn Light into Darkness, Truth into Falshood , Virtue into Vice , and Modesty into Impudence ; otherwise this Gentleman could never have forgiven himself, for bestowing such odious Characters upon all *those* who do not believe his Doctrine, which is, That the *Queen of England* is as *absolute* as any Monarch upon Earth, nay, more *absolute* than the *French King*.

These are some of the Characters.

An Insolent Faction against Monarchy and Episcopacy. Incendiaries : Men Rude and Insolent, who rave about Resistance and Self-Defence. Men of pernicious Principles, cunning Deceivers, a Restless Faction ; Men who have found out a cunning Device of confounding all Scriptures that are used for Demonstration of Monarchy, and Christian Subjection. Whose Principles are so tainted with Faction and Rebellion , that the very naming the words

words *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy* shall create a far greater Shaking and Disorder in them than the strongest Fit of a *Tertian Ague*. Men of Levelling and Republican Notions ; an audacious and designing Faction ; hardened and seditious Authors, that can't be content to remain in Error and Obstinacy themselves, but must add to their Miseries by having Thousands of seduc'd Souls loudly crying out against them in the Last Great Day, for being thro' their wicked Means drawn out of the Way, and misguided to their Eternal Destruction.

What Hell is hot enough for those that act against so many clear Convictions ? And the Principles of these his Opposers, he asserts to be *Factions, rebellious, and Damnable*.

Having thus performed my Promise, and shewn the *Folly* and *Ill-Tendency* of this Book, that it contains not only numberless childish things, but Principles destructive of our Constitution, and directly opposite to the Nature of the *British Monarchy*, I am somewhat surprized that this Gentleman should write it, but much more that so many Men of Learning and Honour should encourage it, by subscribing for it. How this came to pass I shall not enquire, whether Three or Four hundred Persons took the word of some *Eminent Defender* of the

whether they did it out of Com-
 plaisance to the Understandings of their *Party*,
 or out of good Will to the Author, either
 way I am pleased, and had rather attribute it
 to any thing than a thorough Conviction, that
 the Principles in this Book were true and
 well defended; because that would cast too
 great a Reproach upon the Judgments of se-
 veral of those Gentlemen for whom I have
 a very just Respect.

F I N I S

